1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Schaeffer House

Other Name/Site Number: N/A

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: Intersection of State Routes 501 and 897 Not for publication: N/A

City/Town: Schaefferstown, Heidelberg Township Vicinity: N/A

State: PA County: Lebanon Code: 075 Zip Code: 17088

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property		Category of Property	
Private:	X	Building(s):	X
Public-Local:		District:	
Public-State:		Site:	
Public-Federal:		Structure:	
Object:			

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing
1	buildings
	sites
	structures
	objects
1	Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 1

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

Draft

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

Draft

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	DOMESTIC	Sub:	Single Dwelling
Current:	RECREATION AND CULTURE	Sub:	Museum

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: COLONIAL

MATERIALS:
Foundation: Stone
Walls: Stone
Roof: Metal
Other: Weatherboard

Draft

Summary

The Schaeffer House is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark (NHL) Criterion 4 for architecture as a rare intact example of a colonial-era building type within the German tradition. It is among a handful of exceptionally well-preserved buildings that clearly convey specialized historic usages, and provide significant windows onto the lifestyle and impact of German-speaking colonists on the American landscape. The Schaeffer House is quite possibly the only surviving *Weinbauernhaus*, a type that incorporates domestic functions and spaces used for the production of alcohol within a single building. As such, it is an excellent example of how European traditions were imported to colonial America and adapted to meet American needs and conditions. In Europe, *Weinbauern* culture was largely centered on wine production; in contrast, its American manifestation focused on distillation and the manufacture of spirits. While the end product was distinct, the functional relationship between the house and commercial activity was the same on both continents. The Schaeffer House retains an exceptionally high degree of integrity. Its eighteenth-century bank house form is entirely discernible and significant features of colonial German architecture abound, including original hardware and painted decoration, the *Stroh Lehm* paling (insulation), water channel, double distilling fireplace with flue controls, the *Liegender Stuhl* truss, and the three-room plan with internal fireplace (*Flurkuchenhaus*). The Schaeffer House is an extraordinary survivor, and provides unusual and rare insight into the early history of America.

The building was designed and utilized for both highly specialized commercial functions and as a residence of the owner or manager of the commercial operation. This building exemplifies the role that European traditions played in the settling of the colonies and contributes significantly to the understanding of the early American architectural experience. It is a unique physical manifestation of the European wine- and spirit-making tradition that was transplanted to this country and preserves the characteristics of the *Weinbauern* culture of the Rhenish Palatinate of Germany. While there are other surviving examples of eighteenth-century banked buildings, the Schaeffer House is among the best models of the building type.

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

The Schaeffer House is a two-and-a-half story stone house possibly built as early as 1736 and enlarged ca. 1771 to its present bank house configuration.[1] The house, similar to the *Weinbauern* houses of the German Palatinate, is sited with its main entrance in the banked north gable end and rises two-and-a-half stories at the rear (south) gable end. The resource consists of the original house and addition, which is located within the upper farm of the historic Brendle Farms**,** an approximately 90-acre section of the 347-acre parcel that is listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Several buildings dating to the eighteenth century make up the historic farmstead. These include an original smokehouse built of fieldstone and finished with a shingled hip roof and a restored pigsty constructed of fieldstone with a shingled gable roof. The pigsty preserves a system of interior and exterior runs and pens to control the livestock. The immediate site also contains a large late-nineteenth century bank barn, a fenced-in garden plot, and various buildings relating to Historic Schaefferstown's living history events. The contemporary structures include a clapboard fruit and vegetable dryer, corncrib, sawmill, and relocated log springhouse.

As part of their fundraising activities, Historic Schaefferstown added several additional wood sheds and stalls around the property in the early 1970s to support the organization's annual festivals. Because these neighboring buildings and structures are for the most part of appropriate material and scale, they do not negatively impact the cultural landscape surrounding the house. The long-range plan calls for their removal.

[1] See Section 8 for a discussion on the dating of the building.

The primary period of significance spans the erection of the original building as early as 1736 by John Miley to the major transition into the present one ca. 1771 or before with Schaeffer's addition of an attached kitchen and cellar. In the 1890s, the Brendle family added a small service addition completing the existing house without significantly modifying the original form. The plan and many important eighteenth-century features are preserved in the building and few changes have taken place since the nineteenth century. The Schaeffer House survives as an example of a rare and important Colonial-era, Germanic house type that retains an exceptionally high degree of integrity.

Phase 1, Original House

The original section is a square, two-and-a-half story building with three rooms on the first floor and two utilitarian rooms on the ground floor, organized on both levels around an internal fireplace. Constructed of coursed rubble limestone, the building is characterized by its steeply pitched roof, original lime-based pointing, and large nine-over-six single-hung sash set into integrally-carved, mortise-and-tenon frames. There is little decoration or ornamentation on the exterior, with the exception of a brick star-shaped vent in the south gable and the exceptional carved wood cornice at the top of the walls of the east and west facades.

Originally, the house was built abutting, but not into, the adjacent bank. The facades are each slightly different, primarily varying in the number and location of openings. The main (north) facade, now covered by the Schaeffer addition, originally consisted of an above grade ground floor with a window in the northeast corner of the ground floor and the main entrance in the northwest corner of the first floor. Directly above the ground floor window on the northeast corner of the first floor was originally another window. In its original configuration, access to the first floor was likely provided by a small addition with stairs along the north wall.

The west façade contains a window and wide plank door penetrating the ground floor and a single window aligned with the door lighting the floor above. (The opening above the ground floor window was added at the time of the addition.) Two original windows on the ground and first floors penetrate the east facade. The opening centered between the first floor windows dates to the period of the addition. Brick segmental arches top all original ground floor openings while flat brick arches support the upper floor openings. The openings installed as part of the modifications by the Schaeffer family are distinguished by the lack of brick arches.

The south-facing facade is three bays wide and rises two-and-a-half stories in height. A wide plank door, set into a mortise-and-tenon frame, is located in the southwestern corner of the ground floor. Interestingly, this door is positioned directly around the corner from the door on the west facade. Two windows, each capped with brick segmental arches, are located to the east of the door. Three brick flat arched windows aligned with the ground floor openings identify the main floor and two small casement windows light the attic level.

As originally constructed, the modest Schaeffer House had two rooms on the first floor—a *Küche*, the kitchen, and a *Stube*, a heated all-purpose living room.[2] Very early in its history a *Kammer* (bed chamber) was created with the installation of a wattle-and-daub partition wall in the *Stube*, which resulted in a more typical *Flurkuchen* (three-room) floor plan. In the cellar, an internal partition divided the large ground floor room into two distinct workspaces. The two rooms feature dirt floors, exposed ceiling beams with traditional paling, plastered stone walls, and splayed windows. The ceiling paling, one of the important surviving Germanic features of the Schaeffer House, is made of traditional mud and straw (*Stroh Lehm*) wrapped onto riven oak pales but set on wide flanges cut into the ceiling joists rather than into simple notches.[3]

[2] Diane Wenger, "Schaefferstown Tour," in *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720-1920*, guidebook for the Twenty-Fifth Annual Conference of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, 12-16 May 2004, 27.

[3] Paling is traditionally secured in V-shaped notches cut into the sides of the joists rather than supported on inverted T-shaped flanges which require considerably more labor to fashion.

Wide tongue-and-groove floorboards, exposed ceiling beams, splayed windows, and whitewash on plaster walls universally define all of the rooms. All doors throughout the house also retain their decorative hardware; some doors, instead of utilizing keys in the locks, have threaded door handles that can be removed to provide security. The doors are also unique in their decoration with black-painted rails, stiles, and muntins, with the panels and moldings highlighted in red. Twelve-pointed stars, painted in vivid colors, are located on the upper panels of two of the doors. The decoration's patina and distress convey its age; however, it is not conclusively known whether they are original to the 1736 period or were installed as part of the later eighteenth-century expansion.

As originally designed, the attic space was likely used solely for additional storage. This unfinished space is accessed by a stair that was originally on the outside of the building but is now protected within the kitchen addition. The attic was designed as one principal space, defined by the members of the traditional *Liegender Stuhl*, or leaning truss system, the roof rafters, and the flooring. The roof system, which uses tapered trusses, principal rafters, and purlins, was developed as a truss strong enough to carry the heavy loads of snow covered tile or oak shingle roofs while allowing for large clear spans.

Phase II, Additions and Alterations

Alexander Schaeffer acquired the house and property in 1758, at which time it was likely used to supplement Schaeffer's growing business concerns. Based on primary accounts, it is evident that Schaeffer operated a distilling operation, probably to provide spirits to his King George Inn located a short distance away in town.[4] Schaeffer installed a distilling operation in the ground floor that led to a substantial change in the form and function of the original house.

Along with the ca. 1771 installation of the distillery, Alexander Schaeffer and his eldest son Henry constructed a substantial two-story addition to the north of the original building that contained a ground floor vaulted cellar (*Kellar* or *Unterkellerun*) and a large kitchen wing on the first floor. The addition is clearly identifiable from the exterior by cold joints in the masonry between the original construction and the addition on each of the east and west facades. Large windows with six-over-six, single-hung sash provide light to the new first floor rooms with the vaulted cellar location being identified by the two small vents with wrought iron grilles located on the ground floor of the west façade.

The large barrel vaulted stone cellar provided needed cold storage for both domestic and commercial products. The walls are constructed of whitewashed dressed stone laid in a coursed rubble bond. The parging of the vault retains the imprint marks of the wooden forms used to support the arch during construction. The east wall of the cellar contains a door and splayed vent window with wrought iron bars opening onto a small chamber that also contains a door and vent window aligned with the cellar openings. These openings, along with the two vents with iron grilles penetrating the west wall of the cellar, were designed to provide ample air circulation to prevent stagnation of the air and reduce deterioration of the foodstuffs stored in the cellar.

Physical evidence clearly indicates that the original fireplace was reconfigured to form the existing feature that functioned as part of the distillation process. The summer beam, which necessarily would have been engaged into the exterior wall at one end and the chimneybreast at the other, is no longer engaged in the fireplace wall, suggesting that the fireplace was reduced in size. Schaeffer apparently converted the fireplace from a feature used for food preparation and to provide heat to the adjacent room to one that served the pots and coils of two distilling tanks located in the workroom opposite the back wall of the fireplace.[5] The back wall was modified to

[4] See Alexander's Schaeffer's will and inventory, transcribed in James A. Dibert, in "The Will and Estate Inventory of Alexander Schaeffer," *Historic Schaefferstown Record* 34 (May 2001): np.

[5] Ibid.

now include two sets of draft controls and stoking holes for the stills. The draft control consists of two sets of small holes in the back of the firewall into which bricks were inserted and adjusted to control the size of the flue, thereby allowing the heat of the fire to be controllable.

While the exact sequencing and dates of the conversion of the fireplace to fire a still and the construction of the addition are not known, it is possible that the fireplace conversion took place before the addition. More likely, the work occurred around the same time, for the addition of the cellar provided needed cold storage to store both raw materials and finished products. The existing water conducting system not only served to maintain a tempered climate in the cellar but also provided the cold water required in the condensing coils of the distillation apparatus. The functional relationship between the addition of the cellar and the distilling operation suggests their simultaneous construction.

With these changes, the main (north) façade of the addition is now partially built at the top of the bank and therefore rises only one and one half stories above the bank. The original north wall became an interior wall that separated the new kitchen from the remainder of the house. The new north façade contains a window and door positioned slightly above grade and two small casement windows in the attic level. Wooden stairs, leading from ground level to a porch sheltering the main door into the kitchen, provide the primary access to the living areas of the first floor. One six-over-six sash window was installed midway between the existing openings of the first floor on each of the east and west facades to provide additional light to the primary domestic spaces of the main living area. These openings are distinguished by the lack of brick flat arches above the window heads.

The upper floor of the addition consists of a substantial kitchen with a massive walk-in fireplace directly on top of the vaulted cellar. The attached kitchen, defined by wide floorboards, exposed ceiling joists, and smooth plaster walls, is dominated by the massive beehive bake oven and fireplace built along the northern wall. The fireplace preserves the heavy structural lintel with bracketed mantel, flat hearthstones, and folding doors affixed to either side of the opening. Carved into the lintel are the initials of Henry Schaeffer and the date "1771" in clear, eighteenth-century German script. The attached beehive bake oven, with squirrel tail flue venting into the chimney of the main fireplace, all incorporated within the new kitchen addition, is an unusual and rare feature in Germanic domestic building tradition.

A set of narrow interior winder stairs in the southwest corner of the kitchen provides access to a finished attic room above. These stairs may have replaced the original stairs that provided access to the garret. The addition's attic consists of a single room completely sheathed with beaded board ceiling and walls. The room is segregated from the Phase I attic by a beaded partition complete with a door supporting decorative wrought iron hinges and thumb latch. The high level of surface treatment suggests that it was used for additional living space and secure storage.

These alterations not only changed the footprint of the house, but also changed the way in which the inhabitants lived in and used the building. With all domestic functions brought into the formal living spaces and non-domestic functions completely separated and relegated to what was now primarily a commercial ground floor workspace, the building was further divided into two distinct and specialized zones. A final modification occurred to the first floor of the original house that transformed the social function of the rooms from the traditional three-room plan to an unusual deviation to traditional usage. With the domestic food preparation now located in the newly constructed kitchen addition, the first floor fireplace in the original house was reconfigured to provide a small open fireplace in the *Stube* and in the old *Küche*. The original first-floor *Küche* was likely converted to an additional *Kammer* or workroom at this time. During the remodeling ca.1771, the

size and orientation of the kitchen fireplace was changed as part of the Phase II transformation of the house into a truly banked structure.[6]

There were no additional physical changes to the house until the 1890s when the owners, the Brendle family, added a small two-story banked addition onto the northeast corner of the kitchen. Accessed through a door in the first-floor kitchen, and one on the ground level, this utilitarian room was most likely used as a pantry or a similar type of space. An interior stair leading from the northeast corner of the ground floor to the first floor was also added in the late nineteenth century. This final addition marks the last of the major alterations to the house; throughout the twentieth century, the house's owners have been sympathetic to the importance of the building and have kept alterations to a minimum with only a few cosmetic changes to the interior. While non-original plaster has been stripped from some of the walls and ceiling to expose the building's structure, pre-investigation photographs document that only areas altered with Portland cement plaster were disturbed. Additionally, a temporary modern metal roof supported on the original *Liegender Stuhl* truss and rafters currently protects the building.

The Schaeffer House retains an exceptionally high degree of integrity as an excellently preserved example of early Germanic architecture in America and survives in a condition remarkably similar to that which existed during the Schaeffers' lifetimes. Although the property has evolved over its 263-year history, the majority of changes occurred during the property's period of significance, ca. 1736 to ca. 1771, and were made by either Alexander or Henry Schaeffer. Important, characteristically Germanic details such as the *Liegender Stuhl* truss, the interior *Stroh Lehm* paling, and the clay-straw plaster are excellently preserved, rare surviving examples of late medieval construction techniques. The Phase II kitchen and cellar addition and associated modifications add considerably to the significance of the house for they embody unique features in the Pennsylvania German culture. Possibly a unique survival within the tradition, the present bank building preserves significant features of the distilling operation such as the dual still elements of the fireplace and the interior water conducting system. The unusual layout and location of the completely intact first floor kitchen addition and the associated changes to the use and configuration of the original first floor plan document important alterations both architecturally and socially within the Pennsylvania German culture.

Collectively, the house and its details, including the unique hardware, painted doors and other finishes, convey the building's national significance as an example of a culturally distinct and rare building in the Pennsylvania German culture which retains an unusually high degree of integrity.

[6] The fireplace was altered by removing masonry on the *Stube* side of the chimney breast to create a fireplace and hearth, and an opening for a stove pipe was installed in the masonry within the *Küche*.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: _ Locally:

Applicable National Register Criteria:	A_ B_ C_X_ D
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):	A_ B_ C_ D_ E_ F_ G
NHL Criteria:	4
NHL Theme(s):	III. Expressing Cultural Values 5. Architecture, landscape architecture and urban design
Areas of Significance:	Architecture
Period(s) of Significance:	ca. 1736- ca. 1771
Significant Dates:	N/A
Significant Person(s):	N/A
Cultural Affiliation:	N/A
Architect/Builder:	Durst, Thomas Schaeffer, Alexander Schaeffer, Henry

Draft

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Introduction

The Schaeffer House is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark (NHL) Criterion 4 for architecture as a rare intact example of a colonial-era building type within the Pennsylvania German tradition. The period of significance spans from the time of construction of the original large stone house as early as 1736 to ca. 1771, when Alexander Schaeffer and his son, Henry, constructed a substantial addition completing the present historic form. The Schaeffer House is classified as a bank house in which the building is partially built into a bank so that the ground floor is accessed from the lower grade while the first floor is reached from the upper bank. Bank houses nearly always provide a distinct separation of domestic and utilitarian spaces whereby cooking and other utilitarian functions were relegated to the ground floor and domestic or other specialized functions to the upper floors. Limited vertical circulation between the floors further reinforced this separation of functions. This was usually accomplished by the use of an exterior stair providing the primary means of communication between the floors with either very rudimentary or no internal access between floors.

The Schaeffer House was designed and utilized for both highly specialized commercial functions and as a residence of the owner or manager of the commercial operation. The building exemplifies the role that European traditions played in the settling of the colonies and contributes significantly to the understanding of the early American architectural experience. The Schaeffer House is a unique physical manifestation and preserves the characteristics of the *Weinbauernhaus* of the Rhenish Palatinate of Germany as adapted to American needs and conditions, specifically the translation of a tradition largely tied to wine-making into one centered on the manufacture of spirits. While there are other surviving examples of eighteenth-century banked buildings, the Schaeffer House is among the best models of the building type. It also retains many unique Germanic features including distinctive painted decoration, and, with the remnants of a distillery on the ground floor, is likely the most intact example of a colonial *Weinbauernhaus* in the United States.

Settlement and Identity

Historian Scott Swank has noted: "From the founding of the American colonies to the present, German-speaking immigrants have constituted the largest and most evenly distributed cultural sub group in United States history."[7] Beginning shortly after the first settlement in Germantown in 1683, these immigrants spread out across southeastern Pennsylvania to establish several important eighteenth-century urban centers such as Lancaster in 1735 and Reading in the 1740s. Other smaller settlements such as Schaefferstown, Lebanon, and York also flourished with an abundance of tradesmen and other members of the artisan class to support the rural agrarian farmers from whom most of the significant buildings under discussion emanated.[8] Scott Swank's research has found that by the 1840s, between 55 percent and 65 percent of Pennsylvania German immigrants derived their wealth from agriculture in the heartland of the state.[9] It is from this agrarian settlement that the monumental domestic buildings of the Pennsylvania Germans arose.

The origins of the migration of German-speaking people to North America began in the early 1680s. After decades of warfare and associated economic instability and decline, German-speaking Europeans began systematically migrating to America with William Penn's offer of religious freedom and inexpensive land in the new colony of Pennsylvania.

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[7] Scott T. Swank, *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Winterthur, DE: Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1983), 4.
[8] In Europe, farmers were traditionally based in small villages with individual fields radiating from the town center.
[9] Swank, 19. Most scholars agree that the percentage of Germans in America involved in agriculture was much higher in the eighteenth century.

Historians such as Scott Swank and Stephanie Grauman Wolf, and cultural geographer James Lemon, among others, have identified three waves of early Germanic immigration to the colonies. The initial wave, from 1682 through the early eighteenth century, is generally considered to have been brought about by the desire to escape religious persecution and emigrate to a new land where freedom and tolerance were assured as in the case of Pennsylvania. Most of these early immigrants arrived at the port of Philadelphia and after initial settlement in nearby Germantown, a settlement of Quakers, Protestants, and Separatists founded by Daniel Pastorius and others, gradually began to spread out and settle the rich virgin lands in southeastern Pennsylvania. A secondary group of German-speaking settlers disembarked in New York to eventually settle the Hudson and Schoharie Valleys of New York, and New Jersey.[10]

The second and third waves of immigration were generally motivated by the economic opportunities and available land in the colonies. In the first and second quarters of the eighteenth century, tens of thousands of Germanic immigrants arrived and eventually spread out from New York to Maryland and Virginia. They established numerous inland villages, towns and cities. As before, Pennsylvania was the central location where initial settlement took place. Within a short time, the desire for more and better farmland and new economic opportunities led these new citizens to relocate further west and south to establish centers in south-central Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.

The Founding of Schaefferstown

The documented history surrounding the Schaeffer House begins in 1736 when John Miley obtained a patent on 347 acres that included the subject property. By 1737, Miley had sold the entire parcel to Durst Thoma (or Thommen) who described the property in an October 3, 1737 letter to the Basel authorities in Germany as containing two houses and two barns.[11] Upon Thoma's death that same year, his heirs inherited the parcel and maintained ownership until 1754 when the land was subdivided into several tracts. The subject property was purchased by Alexander Schaeffer who bought a total of 204 acres that included the 103 ¾-acre parcel that contained the subject building from heir Martin Thoma. While it is not clear exactly when the house was constructed, in each deed the conveyance contains standardized language that suggests building improvements. It is clear however, that as documented in Thoma's letter to Basel, two houses and two barns existed on the property as early as 1737. While the date of the original construction of the house is not known, the building's construction and detailing clearly establishes it as dating to the mid-eighteenth century or earlier, likely pre-1737.

Alexander Schaeffer founded the town of "Heidelberg," a planned community in which he began selling lots by the early 1760s. Schaeffer was not a new inhabitant of Heidelberg, and his professional and personal interest in the area started at least a decade before he became the official founder of the town. Schaeffer was born January 8, 1712, in Schriessheim, a small village along the Bergstrasse, just south of the capital city of Heidelberg, in the area of Europe then defined as the Rhenish Palatinate.[12] Not much is known about his early life in Germany

[10] James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 1-41; Stephanie Grauman Wolf, Urban Village (New York: Princeton University Press, 1980), 329-30; and Scott T. Swank, "The Germanic Fragment," in *The Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans*, ed. Scott T. Swank (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1983), 10. Referenced from Diane Wenger, *A Country Storekeeper in Pennsylvania* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 20.

[11] The original letter is in Staatsarchive Basel-Stadt, Auswanderung !, 1732-1738, No. 97; it is printed and translated in A. B. Faust, "Documents in Swiss Archives relating to Emigration to American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century," *American Historical Review* 22 (1916): 117-18, in Leo Schelbert, "On the Power of Pietism: A Documentary on the Thommens of Schaefferstown," in *Historic Schaefferstown Record* 17 (Jul.-Oct. 1983): 55, and recently quoted by Brad Smith in "Solving the Mysteries of the Alexander Schaeffer Farm," *Historic Schaefferstown Record* 36 (Aug. 2005).

[12] Frederick Weiser and Larry M. Neff, translators, *Records of Purchases at the King George Hotel, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, 1762-1773* (Birdsboro, PA: The Pennsylvania German Society), v.

except that he grew up as part of a large family that worked in an area historically involved with the wine-growing practices of the region.[13] Only a few months before his twenty-seventh birthday, Schaeffer arrived in America through the port of Philadelphia on September 11, 1738, from the ship *Robert and Alice*.[14] By the mid-1740s, Schaeffer had worked his way from Germantown across southeastern Pennsylvania, and settled, with his wife Anna Engle, on a piece of land just outside of the village of Heidelberg. By 1747, he had received a proprietary patent for land in Lebanon Township and he soon became actively involved in the growing town. In addition to providing a marketplace, public water fountains, and several lots on which to locate cemeteries and churches, he built one of the first and most successful taverns, the King George, by 1752. Soon to be renamed Schaefferstown, Heidelberg was a noted mercantile center which, by the 1790s, boasted several taverns on the town square to cater to the increasing number of businessman and travelers visiting the area.[15]

In addition to managing his tavern, Schaeffer also established a successful spirit distillery operation providing quality beverages for local and statewide consumption. These operations were further expanded by his son Henry, who appears to have been responsible for the management of the farmstead and associated businesses, and for erecting the Phase 2 addition to the early house on the Schaeffer property. Henry inherited his father's estate and trade in 1775. According to early accounts, this business, in a short time, became one of the largest manufacturers of spirits in Pennsylvania.[16]

Additional buildings were constructed throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to complete the working farmstead. Early on, a large stone bank barn (destroyed by fire and rebuilt in the nineteenth century), a pigsty and a smokehouse were erected immediately surrounding the house and, over the course of the following years, several smaller barns and woodsheds were constructed around the property. The farm stayed in the family until 1842 when John Steinmetz, Sr., purchased the land from Henry's heirs. In 1878, Steinmetz sold the farm to his son-in-law Daniel Brendle, who managed the estate until he retired in 1883 and, in turn, left his son in charge of the property.[17] In the early part of the twentieth century, the existing barn was constructed on the foundations of the original barn that had been destroyed by a fire several years earlier. The Schaeffer farmstead left the ownership of the Brendle family when local resident Donald Backenstose purchased it, with the property remaining in his family until 1960, when it was sold to Norman Oberholtzer. Three years later, Robert Bucher purchased the farmstead and began establishing what would later become Historic Schaefferstown, Inc. In 1966, Historic Schaefferstown, Inc. purchased the property from Bucher for the purposes of preservation and interpretation of one of the most significant properties, particularly within the Germanic cultural tradition, in southeastern Pennsylvania.

Architectural Significance

The Schaeffer House derives its principal architectural significance as a rare surviving example of an important eighteenth-century building type, the Germanic *Weinbauernhaus*, a functional distinction among buildings of the bank house type. The tradition of identifying and characterizing early European building practices represented in America has a long and distinguished history that provides the framework for defining the significance of the Schaeffer House. Beginning in the late-nineteenth century, European scholars such as

[13] Weiser and Neff, vi. This agricultural tradition was one of the last reminders of the Roman occupation of Europe, when the Italians had transplanted their own culture throughout their empire.

[14] A.S. Brendle, *A Brief History of Schaefferstown* (York, PA: Dispatch Publication Company, 1901), 193.

[15] B&L Associates, "Brendle Farms/Alexander Schaeffer Farm and Scheetz Farm," Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 1972, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

[16] The account books that Frederick Weiser reviewed in preparing *Records of Purchases at the King George Hotel, Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, 1762-1773* indicate that Schaeffer was a major distributor of whiskey in the colonial period.

[17] Brendle, 56, 80. Lebanon County Recorder of Deeds, Deed Book D6, Page 788&c (Lebanon County Courthouse, Apr. 1, 1842). See also Deed Book C2, Page 170&c (Dec. 21, 1878) and Deed Book T4, Page 253&c (Apr. 1, 1912).

Rudolf Henning and August Meitzen initiated the investigations into building typology by identifying regional differences in materials, floor plans, and room functions. Throughout the twentieth century, the building typological process continued to be refined by scholars such as Richard Weiss, who identified additional characteristics of early Germanic houses and assigned specific regions and cultures to them.[18]

In American scholarship, continental building typology was not the subject of serious study until Edwin G. Brumbaugh published *The Colonial Architecture of Pennsylvania Germans* (1933). Brumbaugh's work expanded the nineteenth-century observations of German homesteads and began to define those characteristics that separate German colonial architecture from its English counterpart. While Brumbaugh's work initiated the academic study of early Germanic building practices in America, it was Robert Bucher's work in the 1960s that finally clearly described the Pennsylvania German building tradition in an identifiable and verifiable format. With Bucher and Brumbaugh establishing the foundation for such research, contemporaries like Henry Glassie, Edward Chapell, Bernard Herman, William Woys Weaver, Philip Pendleton, and others have proven the legitimacy of building typological classification through their research and academic publications. The writings of these people provide the information from which to make the arguments about the significance of Germanic building traditions on the American architectural landscapes.

One of the primary results of these labors is the recognition of a Pennsylvania German building typology that identifies several distinct house types, whose defining characteristics are derived from form, plan, and/or function.[19] These types are related to examples found throughout south and central Europe, in particular Germany and Switzerland. The principal ones include:

- *Einhaus*—a house and barn constructed under one roof
- *Flurkuchenhaus*—a house with the main entrance of the house in the kitchen; most often a three-room plan
- *Kreuzhaus*—a variation of the *Flurkuchenhaus* having four rooms with the *Küche* screened from the front door
- *Durchgangigen* house—a house built with a central hall, having an asymmetrical plan with clear German roots; this plan is distinct from the more ordered, frequently Anglo-influenced Georgian/Baroque plan
- Bank house[20]— an embanked house, often with the gable end built into the bank, with clear divisions between the domestic relegated to the lower floors; the *Weinbauernhaus* and "ancillary" house are subsets of the bank house

Variations and some crossover of features within these basic categories exist, but essentially all of the identifiable Germanic buildings in southeastern Pennsylvania maintain one of these parent forms. Examples of all of the above types are found throughout south central Pennsylvania, particularly in Lancaster, Lebanon, and Berks counties.

The *Einhaus*, or house barn, while common in German-speaking Europe, is known in the area of eighteenth-century German-American settlement only through nineteenth-century documentation of a handful of buildings

[18] Richard Weiss, *Hauser and Landschaften der Schweiz* (Zurich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1959).

[19] For discussion of common types, see: Robert Bucher, "The Continental Log House," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 12 (Winter 1962): 14-19, and Bucher, "Swiss Bank Houses of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 28 (Winter 1969): 3-11; Charles Bergengren, "The Cycles of Transformations in the Houses of Schaefferstown, PA," dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1988; Bergengren, "The Cycle of Transformations in Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania, Houses," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, IV*, ed. Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 98-107; and Bergengren, "Pennsylvania German House Forms," in *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720-1920*, guidebook for the Twenty-Fifth Annual Conference of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, 12-16 May 2004, 23-46.

[20] There is no known German word for "Bank House," and it is the accepted term used in English-language publications.

that were then extant. It appears that there are no surviving examples today (unless some severely altered specimens exist).

The *Flurkuchenhaus* with two, three, or four rooms organized around a central chimney has been documented in hundreds of surviving Pennsylvania Germanic structures. Excellent examples include the Bertolet-Herbein log house (1730s, Berks County) and the nearby ca. 1745 Heinrich Zeller house. In his thesis on the architectural transformations in Schaefferstown, Charles Bergengren found that in this wealthy village eighty-four percent of the surviving eighteenth-century buildings were variations (two, three, or four room) of the internal chimney type with three-quarters of these containing three rooms on the first floor.[21] Of the five surviving houses at the Ephrata Cloister, four preserve the three-room plan while the eighteenth-century portion of the so-called Print Shop was designed with two rooms and a fireplace on the long (as opposed to the gable) wall. Of the seventy-five or so eighteenth-century houses documented by Robert Bucher, nearly seventy percent were the three-room form.

The most common variation of the three-room plan, frequently seen in the largest and most ornate buildings of the period, involved the further subdivision of the *Küche* to make four rooms. A smaller room for storage, a sleeping chamber or access to the cellar and/or upper floors could be fashioned by inserting a partition at the far end of the *Küche*. Called a *Kammerli* by the Pennsylvania Germans, the room is typically an unheated multifunctional space that could be used as a pantry, tool room, or bedroom; the principal entrance still directly opened into the *Küche*. Many notable houses of the most prosperous plantations contain this refinement. The Christian Herr House in Lancaster County (1719) contains a relatively large *der gang* (passage) holding the stair to the cellar, divided from the rear of the *Küche*. This rear room is only accessible from the *Küche* as the house lacks the common second doorway to the exterior.

Another variation on the *Flurkuchen* arrangement is the *Kreuzhaus*, which is also four rooms but partitions the *Küche* such that the principal entrance opens onto a vestibule that screens the *Küche*. The name refers to the diagonal placement of large rooms (*Stube* and *Küche*) and small rooms (*Kammer* and entrance passage, sometimes *der gang*). Although a spatial variation on the classic *Flurkuchenhaus*, the separation of the main entrance from the *Küche* "effectively closes off the kitchen from the front door, and thus changes social behavior enough to constitute an entirely different house type."[22] The type is best represented by the 1752 House of the Miller also known as the Milbach House, located only several miles from Schaefferstown. Constructed as a *flurkuchenhaus*, it was later modified into its present four-room arrangement (although the *flurkuchen* plan is still readable). The Milbach House is notable for its gambrel roof, triple encircling pent roofs, attached eighteenth-century mill, and especially for the interior woodwork, which is considered the nation's finest example of late medieval/Baroque woodwork in the Germanic tradition. While much of the interior was removed in the 1920s, it survives in storage and on display at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The house is nonetheless still considered a masterpiece of Pennsylvania German architecture.

The *Durchgangigen* house is characterized by a central through passage and asymmetrical plan and elevation, and has roots in vernacular German architecture. It is distinct from the Georgian/Baroque plan which emphasizes symmetry, or at least balance, in both plan and elevation, and is a reflection of the rationality and order emphasized in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Enlightenment thought. Among the German colonists, *Durchgangigen* houses generally appeared after the mid-eighteenth century. Several of these buildings survive including the 1750s Muhlenberg House near Trappe, Pennsylvania (1750s), the Heister House in Summneytown, Pennsylvania (1760s), and the 1780s Hottenstein House near Kutztown, Pennsylvania (1780s). Examples in the vicinity of Schaefferstown include the heavily-altered Franklin House, the Lyle Krall House and the Philip Erpff House.

[21] Bergengren, "The Cycles of Transformations in the Houses of Schaefferstown, PA," 63.
[22] Bergengren, "Pennsylvania German House Forms," 32.

Notable extant examples of the *Flurkuchenhaus*, *Kreuzhaus*, and *Durchgangigen* include:

The Henry Antes House in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania (1735; NHL, 1992) has long been thought to be a three-room plan house, but investigations have documented that an original partition had divided the *Küche*.[23] The *Kammerli* can be entered directly from the back door and is the area containing the only access to the cellar and upper floors as well as access to the *Küche*. Antes was a very public man—a secular and religious leader and a magistrate—and with a constant flow of visitors through his home, he may have utilized this design to segregate the public access to his second floor office from the private confines of the first floor. The partition intersected the jamb wall of the fireplace and separated the stairs from the hearth, reducing air movement in the *Küche* and thereby providing improved draft for the fireplace.

The Moyer House in Lebanon County, Pennsylvania (ca. 1749) is a two-story stone structure with double attic conforming to the *Flurkuchen* type. The loss of the first floor partitions, installation of a trap door to the cellar, and erection of an addition to the west makes identification problematic without considerable additional investigation. Nevertheless, the house preserves important doors, paneling, hardware, and partitions on the upper floors. Additionally, the roof truss is unusually stout and appears to have been designed to support a tile roof, and the cellar is of the vaulted stone type, a feature typical of these early buildings in this region.

The Hans Mirtel Gerick House in Exeter Township, Pennsylvania (1741) is a two-story stone *Flurkuchenhaus* with unusual half-hipped roof. While the house has been considerably altered over time and suffers from water damage to interior features, it preserves important features such as early fenestration indicating casement window sashes, an important fireplace, and half-timbered (*Fachwerk*) partitions.

The Heinrich Zeller House ("Fort Zeller") in Newmanstown, Pennsylvania (1745) is a stone *Flurkuchenhaus* with a distinctive, original half-hip (or jerkin head) roof, herringbone doors, and, particularly, for its carved sandstone door surround and date plaque. The cellar with massive spring flowing into a stone lined trout pond is among the best preserved examples of this feature in the tradition.

As constructed in the 1750s, the Gemberling-Rex house on the center square in Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania had a classic *Flurkuchenhaus* floor plan—although it has been somewhat obscured because of later changes. The house also preserves some of the most distinctive interiors in the Pennsylvania German culture. Originally constructed as a carved corner post *Fachwerk* (half timbered) domestic building, the house was utilized as a tavern in the 1790s. Accordingly, the interior features were slightly modified to include an enclosed bar cage, unusual carved details, paneling, separate parlors (possibly for men and women), extraordinary hardware, and a unique Baroque balustrade. The house was returned to domestic use by the end of the eighteenth century and survives as one of the most important buildings of the period.

The Keim Homestead in Oley Township, Pennsylvania (1753) contains some of the best-preserved early buildings in the tradition. While the original, stone, two-story, three-room *Flurkuchenhaus* has had an early-nineteenth-century addition added to the east gable wall, the house preserves the original internal fireplace with mantel and paneled surround, original floor plan with associated doors and trim and rare herringbone doors. The ancillary building with tile roof, internal fireplace, brick arched openings, and significant interior features has become an iconic structure within the cultural tradition.

The Jacob Kauffman Farm in Oley Township, Pennsylvania (ca. 1760) is considered to be the best-preserved eighteenth-century farmstead in the Germanic tradition. The farm preserves the large, exceptionally original

[23] Tim Noble, "Henry Antes House," historic structures report for the Goshenhoppen Historians, March 1994.

Flurkuchenhaus (1760), eighteenth-century ancillary building, barns, workshop, wash house, sheep and pig stables, and significant landscape features including wood lots, irrigation ditches, field patterns, and family cemetery.

Broader Geographic Distribution

Several buildings conforming to the Germanic cultural pattern are located in states adjoining Pennsylvania and document the geographic distribution of early Germanic settlement patterns in America. Buildings that represent this tradition outside of Pennsylvania include:

The Hager House in Hagerstown, Maryland (1740) is a small *Flurkuchenhaus* with cut stone walls and internal brick chimney. Erected over a spring, the house was raised one full story to its current two-and-one-half story configuration. The house retains a rare casement window and the culturally distinctive *Stroh Lehm* paling insulation between the cellar and *Stube* as well as interior trim and associated features.

Schifferstadt (ca. 1758), the large center hall internal chimney house built by Joseph Bruner, is the one of the oldest and most historic buildings in Frederick, Maryland. Its formal façade and floor plan is based on the *Durchgangigen* house type. The house preserves a vaulted cellar, original partitions with built-in cupboards, and one of the few surviving original 5-plate jamb stoves remaining in its original location on the second floor.

The Palatine House Museum in Schoharie, New York, and the Palatine Farmstead in Rhinebeck, New York, preserve several early Germanic houses dating to the settlement of the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys by immigrants from the Palatine area of Germany that began as early as 1707.[24] The so-called Palatine House from 1743 is a one-and-one-half story two-room frame building with centered chimney while the Palatine Farmstead includes a ca. 1727, one-and-one-half story frame building with center hall. Both buildings have been altered over time with additions and floor plan changes and have undergone significant restoration in recent years.

The Vought House in Hunterdon County, New Jersey (1759) represents the final building type, the bank house. It is a two-and-one-half story banked building with gable chimneys representing the Germanic tradition as it evolved in the region of the Hudson and Raritan valleys centered on the immigration port of New York. With the kitchen in the cellar and living and sleeping quarters above, this center passage building may be the most important Germanic banked structure located outside of Pennsylvania. While altered over time, the house preserves many notable features including the unusual and exceptionally rare surviving period decorative plaster ceilings throughout the first floor.

The Bank House

In addition to exhibiting many distinctive Germanic features such as construction techniques, floor plan, decoration, and other details such as *Stroh Lehm* insulation, the Schaeffer House is also an excellent example of a bank house. Geographically, this type is most prevalent in southeastern Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, particularly in the area around Schaefferstown, and in the Oley Valley and near Bally in Berks County. In his 1969 article on the Schaeffer House and other known bank house examples, Robert Bucher provides an accurate description of the type:

> …the bank house is always or almost always so constructed [with its gable-end built into the bank]. The front door to the living area, on the high level, is approached at ground level, and is

[24] While German immigration has been long held to have begun in 1707, more recent scholarship puts the first significant wave as occurring in 1709-10 with the arrival of 3,000 Germans who do not appear to have immigrated primarily for religious reasons. See: Philip Otterness, *Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004).

> obviously the main and formal entrance. The doorway to the cellar is usually near the opposite gable end and enters the cooking, processing, and cold storage areas at the lower level. Connecting these two doorways is a set of stone steps leading to the living, sleeping, and storage areas on the upper floor and in the garret.[25]

Philip Pendleton has added to understanding of the bank house tradition by documenting numerous banked structures throughout the Oley Valley in Berks County, Pennsylvania. There, he noted an association of the building type to market-related activities on large and complex farmsteads.[26] He termed these banked buildings "ancillary" houses. The modest size and clear division between the domestic spaces of the first floor and the utilitarian work spaces of the ground floor places the original Schaeffer House among relatively few individual German bank houses that might be described as being "ancillary."[27] Frequently misinterpreted as the "settler cabin" of a German homestead, ancillary houses were usually a type of outbuilding on a farm having a larger principal house. In layout, ancillary houses had a flexible space that usually provided full separation of domestic or living functions on the upper level from areas for work and storage in a cellar; both areas had their own entrances.

An ancillary house might alternately provide living space for elderly relatives or tenants or additional storage and a place for messy or disruptive utilitarian tasks; sometimes a workshop occupied the first floor.[28] The attic, or garret, was used primarily for additional storage and/or sleeping space. This spatial arrangement allowed for working and living in the same structure while maximizing efficiency, minimizing costs associated with building and maintaining independent structures, and also provided a separation of domestic space from the noxious byproducts of the utilitarian operations. Traditionally, this house type had only external stone steps (*Freitreppe*) linking the floors and had little or no internal access thereby reinforcing the separation of functions.[29] Physical evidence in the ground floor ceiling joists of the Schaeffer House and ghosts in a plaster wall indicate that there may have been a trap door accessed by an interior ladder-like stair in the west room linking the ground and first floors. While this feature would have allowed limited vertical circulation in the building, the degree of separation between the ground and first floors is considerably emphasized in the design.

The following survey of several important examples of bank houses illustrates the features associated with the building type. The survey also places the Schaeffer House in context with other notable examples.

William and Claus Rittenhouse Homestead in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1707; contributing building in the Rittenhouse Town NHL district, 1992) is the earliest banked structure that has been identified in the region and incorporates many of the requisite features of the building type into its design. The original banked portion of the building dating to 1707 contains a massive gable end fireplace, a well-lighted, brick-paved workroom, and a separate cold storage area with spring and no internal means of accessing the living area above. The house is banked along the long wall and preserves an exterior stone path and stairs (*Freitreppe*) providing communication between floors.

The Jacob Keim Homestead Ancillary House in Oley Township, Pennsylvania (ca. 1753) is an important example of the bank house functioning strictly as an ancillary utilitarian structure. The cellar contains a large

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[25] Robert Bucher, "Swiss Bank Houses of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 28 (Winter 1969): 3-11.

[26] Philip E. Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage, The Colonial Years: 1700-1775* (Birdsboro, PA: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1994), 84.

[27] Philip E. Pendleton, "Domestic Outbuildings," in *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720-1920*, guidebook for the Twenty-Fifth Annual Conference of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, 12-16 May 2004, 58.

[28] This assessment is based on information presented in Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage, 8*4. See also: Pendleton, "Domestic Outbuildings," 57-60, and Bucher, "The Swiss Bank House in Pennsylvania," 5.

[29] Bucher, "The Swiss Bank House in Pennsylvania," 5.

fireplace with a channel in the floor to direct spring water close to the fireside. The house is organized around an internal rather than a gable fireplace and is only partially banked along the long wall. The use of the internal location for the fireplace likely relates to the fact that the building was designed as a specialized woodworking shop that included a second floor kiln for drying the wood used in the furniture making operation.[30]

As with the Keim Homestead ancillary house, the Wilhelm Pott House in Berks County, Pennsylvania (1735-40; demolished) appears to have been used primarily for specialized functions related to Pott's trade as a woodworker and joiner, and not for a residence. Robert Bucher noted that the cellar was typical, with massive fireplace, brick tiled floor, and spring and cold storage area behind the fireplace. He also observed that the main floor contained an unusual enclosed chamber behind the fireplace instead of a jamb stove. He surmised that this feature appeared to be a kiln for drying wood and that the cellar storage area may also have been for storage and aging of wood to be used in Pott's furniture making operation. The building was only partially banked and although architecturally and materially distinct from the Keim ancillary house, it served a remarkably similar function.

Gehman House in Berks County, Pennsylvania (ca. 1750) is a large bank building constructed of stone on the lower floor and log for the upper floor. Although the house has been modified with a stone patio, and an ell, the original features, which define the building type, survive. The cellar contains a massive gable end fireplace with associated spring, cold storage in the bank and exterior stone stair (*Freitreppe*) to the upper floor. The interior has been converted to contemporary residential usage but appears to have always served domestic usage.

The Ulrich Beitler House in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania (ca. 1750) is a small stone structure banked along the long wall, with two gable end fireplaces. The cellar contains an arched stone cold cellar with spring, a fireplace and open external stair accessing the upper floor. The floor plan suggests that it functioned as a work or processing room on the ground floor and for a residence on the upper floor.

The Ley House in Lebanon County, Pennsylvania (ca. 1760-70) with its ca. 1800 addition of a second story, is one of the larger buildings in the bank house tradition. It contains a cold cellar in the bank and a ground level brick-paved workroom with large fireplace and spring. Neither room provides interior access to the first floor. Rather, the building contains a dramatic stone arched entrance to the ground floor and external stone stairs communicating with the first floor. It is uncertain if the Ley House was constructed for domestic or utilitarian usage, but it clearly emphasizes the separate and segregated functions of the two floors.

The Lotz House in Berks County, Pennsylvania (1762) appears to be an example of a highly specialized bank building that served both as the primary residence for the family and as the workshop where Lotz practiced his trade. The house contains two ground floor rooms separated by an internal fireplace, each of which is accessed by unusually wide doors. A spring provides a supply of fresh water to the work areas. This house contains a stair leading to the living area above.

Among the well-known bank houses is the Johannes DeTurk house in the Oley Valley, Berks County, Pennsylvania. Constructed in 1767, the one-room DeTurk house contains a gable end fireplace and spring in the cellar, a small living quarters for the elderly DeTurks in the first floor and a granary complete with hooded pulley in the garret. No stair exists to access the main floor from the ground floor. The building clearly provided utilitarian functions separate from the domestic function of the main floor.

[30] Pendleton, *Oley Valley Heritage*, 92.

The Almonry (mid-1750s) is located at the Ephrata Cloister in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and is the only banked structure in this National Historic Landmark district (NHL, 1967). It is a large two story stone building with the gable end built into the embankment. The building includes a projecting fore-bay with stair (*Vorhof*) to the attic (*Speicher*) along the upper gable and a covered exterior stair from the ground floor to the main level (*Freitreppe*).[31] As evidenced by the two attached bake ovens and dough raising room, the ground floor clearly served as a bakery within the community. It also contains a cold cellar in the bank and channels in the brick floor to direct water to needed locations. The upper floor is a well-lit, heated space that may have functioned either for residential use or for craft-related activities. Although restored, the Almonry survives as an exceptionally important example of the bank building tradition. The structure is one of the largest extant examples of the building type and retains features both typical and unique to the tradition. While maintaining the common features such as orientation, plan, segregation of spaces with work areas in the ground floor, the building uniquely preserves significant features such as the ground floor bakery and raising room and, most uniquely, the *Freitreppe* and *Vorhof*.

The restored Almonry is a bank structure that shares many similarities with the Schaeffer House. Obvious parallels include size, massing, and the material of the design, and the fact that the interiors of both buildings are dedicated to the production and storage of clearly identifiable, large scale manufacturing processes. In the case of the Almonry, important features such as the bake ovens and adjoining dough raising room distinguish the building as a bakery, while the distilling apparatus and adjoining cold cellar of the Schaeffer House document the manufacture and storage of spirits.

The Schaeffer House survives as one of the most important buildings within the bank house tradition. Many of the buildings listed as prime examples of the building type have either been demolished or significantly altered, negatively affecting their integrity. These buildings include the Pott, Gehman, Beitler, Ley and Lotz Houses. The Rittenhouse Home and the Almonry at the Ephrata Cloister are two of the finest examples and have been recognized as National Historic Landmarks (the former part of the Rittenhouse NHL District, 1992, and the latter, NHL, 1967). The Jacob Keim and Johannes DeTurk ancillary structures in Berks County retain a high degree of integrity and are considered to be exemplary examples of this unusual building type. The Schaeffer House preserves the essential characteristics that distinguish the type and stands as one of the largest and most intact buildings within the tradition and is certainly among the finest extant examples.

The Schaeffer House as a Banked *Weinbauernhaus*

The Schaeffer House is an excellent example of a bank house with an expanded *Flurkuchen* plan; however, its particular significance stems from its status as a *Weinbauernhaus*. As with other bank houses, there is a clear physical, vertical division between domestic space on the upper floor(s) and the lower level, but the non-domestic function of a traditional *Weinbauernhaus* related to the production of alcoholic beverages. The Schaeffer House represents an American adaptation of European *Weinbauern* culture in that distilled spirits were produced there rather than wine. The early bank house was divided in a way that made its later expansion and transformation into a *Weinbauernhaus* relatively easy. As originally constructed, the modest Schaeffer House had two rooms on the first floor—a *Küche*, the kitchen, and a *Stube*, a heated all-purpose living room.[32] Very early in its history a *Kammer* (bed chamber) was created with the installation of a wattle-and-daub partition wall in the *Stube*, which resulted in a more typical *Flurkuchen* (three-room) floor plan. In the cellar, an internal partition divided the large ground floor room into two distinct workspaces, which would have had

[31]See: William Woys Weaver, "Pennsylvania German House: European Antecedents and New World Forms" *Winterthur Portfolio* 7 (Winter 1986): 243-64. Weaver's comments on Germanic usage of various terms is invaluable to the study of Germanic vernacular material culture.

[32] Diane Wenger, "Schaefferstown Tour," in *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720-1920*, guidebook for the Twenty-Fifth Annual Conference of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, 12-16 May 2004, 27.

utilitarian, but still largely domestic work functions.[33] There is evidence that the space had large fireplace in one room, and probably a stove facing into the other; a water channel crossed both rooms. These features would have allowed for a variety of domestic activities such as "dairying, rendering, making soap, laundering, and perhaps summertime cooking," a flexibility purposed-designed into the bank house type.[34]

With Schaeffer's ca. 1771 addition, the house changed to a unique form by further separating the utilitarian from the domestic space. It still remained a variation of the traditional Germanic floor plan with rooms organized around a central fireplace. The kitchen that was added to the north side of the house essentially functioned as an attached summer kitchen. With the large cooking fireplace and squirrel tail bake oven, the few domestic functions that took place on the ground floor were physically and culturally transferred to the domestic and living spaces on the main floor of the building. The ground floor then became strictly a utilitarian commercial space reserved for conducting farm related and commercial activities. A ground-floor vaulted cellar (*Kellar* or *Unterkellerun*) was positioned under the new kitchen wing, and physical evidence shows that the original ground-floor fireplace was altered to serve twin stills, the principal equipment need in the distilling operation. This change most likely took place around when the kitchen and cellar addition were erected. The scope of the Schaeffer distilling operations would require such dedicated spaces with ample access, equipment, and storage. The large barrel vaulted stone cellar provided needed cold storage for both domestic and commercial products.

While the Schaeffer House is a unique survivor of a European subtype within the building typological classification with examples preserved on the European landscape. In his book *Hauser und Landschaften der Schweiz*, Richard Weiss has identified similar houses as belonging to the German-speaking people who lived along the Rhine Valley who were known as *Weinbauern*, or wine farmers. These farmers utilized a specific type of construction, almost identical to that of the Schaeffer House, to build their multifunctional homes that served as the *Weinbauernhaus* or winemaking house and as their primary residence.[35] In Europe as in America, these buildings formed the economic and commercial core of an industry and supported satellite and secondary industries through the production and distribution of wine and spirits.

As Scott Swank has documented, between 55 and 65 percent Pennsylvania German immigrants derived their wealth from agriculture in the early-nineteenth century and possibly a greater proportion in the eighteenth century. Other trades such as joiners, cobblers, blacksmiths, weavers, and storekeepers provided skilled work for many others. Perhaps the best source in understanding the market economy of the Pennsylvania Germans is Diane Wenger's study of the creation of economic networks based on the account books of Schaefferstown storekeeper Samuel Rex, kept between 1790 and 1807. In her book, *A Country Storekeeper in Pennsylvania*, Wenger synthesizes information from original daybooks and store ledgers to create a picture of the economic vitality of this seemingly isolated inland community.[36]

Schaefferstown, like many Germanic communities, was not a manufacturing center but served as a distribution hub for goods and services needed by the local population and imported from the cities along the east coast, the Caribbean, and Europe. Local stores provided needed supplies and finery for local residents as well as an outlet for locally made goods that eventually were shipped to larger towns and cities throughout the eastern United States and beyond. Taverns and stores often occupied the same building, and served as economic as well as

[33] Robert Bucher, "Swiss Bank Houses of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 28 (Winter 1969): 4.

[34] Philip E. Pendleton, "Domestic Outbuildings," in *Architecture and Landscape of the Pennsylvania Germans, 1720-1920*, guidebook for the Twenty-Fifth Annual Conference of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, 12-16 May 2004, 58.

[35] Weiss, 202-08.

[36] See Diane Wenger, *A Country Storekeeper in Pennsylvania* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008).

social centers for the community. Here one could converse with travelers, merchants, and neighbors while conveniently buying and selling everyday necessities or finely crafted objects as the rewards for success. Inventories of goods sold or bartered for at the Rex and Schaeffer stores included alcohol, books, groceries, haberdashery, clothing, household goods, stationary, and textiles among hundreds of other items.[37]

The activities of Schaeffer, a successful storekeeper and proprietor to one of the most successful stores in town, appear to parallel those more fully documented in Samuel Rex's store. Alexander and Henry Schaeffer maintained a large store and tavern at a prominent crossroads in the center square of the town. While the Schaeffers also offered an array of goods to the community, their store and tavern was a major outlet for the spirits that were distilled in the cellar distillery of their nearby home. In his will of 1784, Alexander Schaeffer bequeathed "unto my son Henry Schaeffer my Copper Still and Vesels and Whastoever."[38] Henry continued production of spirits for many years thereafter as indicated in Samuel Rex's receipt book, which, for example, records that on December 4, 1798, Rex took 300 ½ gallons of Henry Schaeffer's apple whiskey to Philadelphia where he sold it at 4 shillings a gallon or a total of £65 10s 6p.[39] Henry Schaeffer's 1803 probate inventory indicates that the operation continued to expand in the late-eighteenth century. The inventory noted the presence of two stills and associated vessels and utensils for distilling (worth £50) in addition to quantities of whiskey.[40]

The rising quantity of spirits produced and/or consumed in the surrounding township suggests the importance of distilled beverages within the Pennsylvania German cultural tradition. James A. Dibert conveyed the growth in their Pennsylvania manufacture in a 2005 article, noting: "The 1780 tax return included, for the first time, 'stills' as a separate category. At that time ten stills were in operation in Heidelberg Township, Lancaster County. Besides Henry [Schaeffer], only the prosperous Philip 'Wolfersberger' owned two stills...By 1783, the number of stills in the township had increased to twenty-one."[41] Much of this was locally consumed and retailed. For example, store owner Samuel Rex alone purchased 470 gallons of whiskey each year from 1791 to 1802.[42] Considering that four to five taverns and stores were in operation in Schaefferstown during the third and fourth quarters of the eighteenth century, extremely large amounts of spirits were produced for both local consumption and for sale to brokers in other towns and cities.

Wine making and distilling of fruits and grains was a tradition carried from Europe and established early on in the Americas to become an important source of income and an integral component of the social life of the community. As Diane Wenger and others have shown, farmers routinely maximized their profits by turning grains and fruits into whiskey.[43] Historian W. J. Rorabaugh explains the background of such production and broad appeal, observing:

> during the Revolution, the British prevented molasses and rum from entering into the newly declared United States. As a result, domestic whiskey distilling became a profitable business.

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[37] Ibid., Appendix B, 177-85.

[38] Lancaster County Deed EE-256; Dibert, "The Will and Estate Inventory of Alexander Schaeffer."

[39] Wenger, 60. See also: James A. Dibert, "Changing Historical Interpretations of the Alexander Schaeffer Farm," *Historic Schaefferstown Record* 36 (Aug. 2005): 1-24, and Bradley K. Smith, "Solving the Mysteries of the Alexander Schaeffer Farm," *Historic Schaefferstown Record* 36 (Aug. 2005): 25-42, for information about alcoholic beverages and the history of the Schaeffer House.

[40] Henry Schaeffer's will and inventory are transcribed in James A. Dibert, "The Will and Estate Inventory of Henry Schaeffer," *Historic Schaefferstown Record* 33 (Nov. 2000): np.

[41] James A. Dibert, "Changing Historical Interpretations of the Alexander Schaeffer Farm," *Historic Schaefferstown Record* 36 (Aug. 2005): 21.

[42] Wenger, 74.

[43] For a discussion on the importance of spirits in colonial America, see: W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

> Whiskey, made from local fruits and grain, sold at high prices because distilled spirits were scarce. And, the demand remained high because it was universally believed, that, rum, gin, whiskey, and brandy were nutritious and healthful. Distilled spirits were viewed as foods that supplemented limited and monotonous diets, as medications that could cure colds, fevers, snakebites, frosted toes, and broken legs, and as relaxants that would relieve depression, reduce tension, and enable hard working laborers to enjoy a moment of happy, frivolous camaraderie.[44]

Spirits were an indispensable component of colonial life and so central to the profitability of the agrarian community that between 1791 and 1794, when Alexander Hamilton attempted to tax whiskey in order to help pay the national debt resulting from the Revolutionary War, farmers took up arms in an effort to overturn what was perceived as an unfair law. Since the nature of the tax affected those who produced the whiskey but not the people who bought it, the tax directly affected many farmers and culminated in what is known as the Whiskey Rebellion.

Conclusion

The Schaeffer House is among a handful of exceptionally well-preserved early American-German buildings that clearly convey specialized historic usages, and provide significant windows into the lifestyle and impact of German-speaking colonists on the American landscape. The Schaeffer House is quite possibly the only surviving *Weinbauernhaus*, a type that incorporates domestic functions and spaces used for the production of alcohol within a single building. As such, it is an excellent example of how European traditions were imported to colonial America and adapted to meet American needs and conditions. In Europe, *Weinbauern* culture was largely centered on wine production; in contrast, its American manifestation focused on distillation and the manufacture of spirits. While the end product was distinct, the functional relationship between the house and commercial activity was identical. The Schaeffer House retains an exceptionally high degree of integrity. Its eighteenth-century, bank house form is entirely discernible and significant features of colonial German architecture abound, including original hardware and painted decoration, the paling, water channel, double distilling fireplace with flue controls, the *Liegender Stuhl* truss, and the three-room plan with internal fireplace (*Flurkuchenhaus*). The Schaeffer House is an extraordinary survivor, and provides an unusual and unique insight into the early history of America.

[44] W. J. Rorabaugh, as transcribed in Dibert, "Changing Historical Interpretations of the Alexander Schaeffer Farm,"20.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register: Brendle Farms, listed on 7/24/1972
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
__ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey:
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record:

Primary Location of Additional Data:

_X_ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
__ Federal Agency
__ Local Government
__ University
_X_ Other (Specify Repository): Historic Schaefferstown Archives, Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania

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10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: Less than 1 acre

UTM References:	**Zone**	**Easting**	**Northing**
	18	393320	4461080

Verbal Boundary Description: The boundary for the Schaeffer house is the immediate footprint of the building.

Boundary Justification: The boundary was selected because this is the only building on the existing Historic Schaefferstown site that is eligible for NHL status and is within in the period of significance.

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11. FORM PREPARED BY

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Date: June 5, 2009; revisions April 2010

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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM
November 18, 2010

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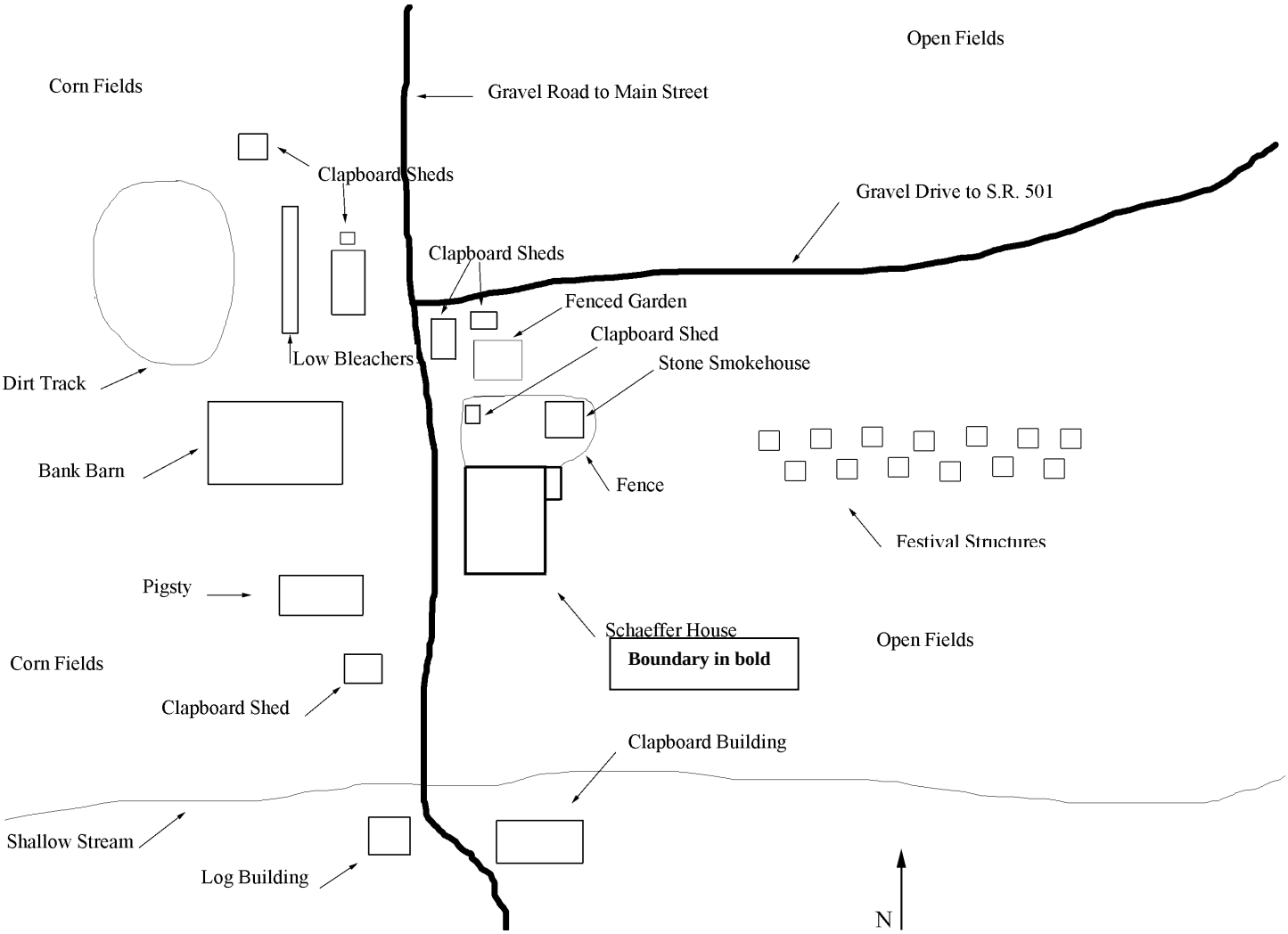
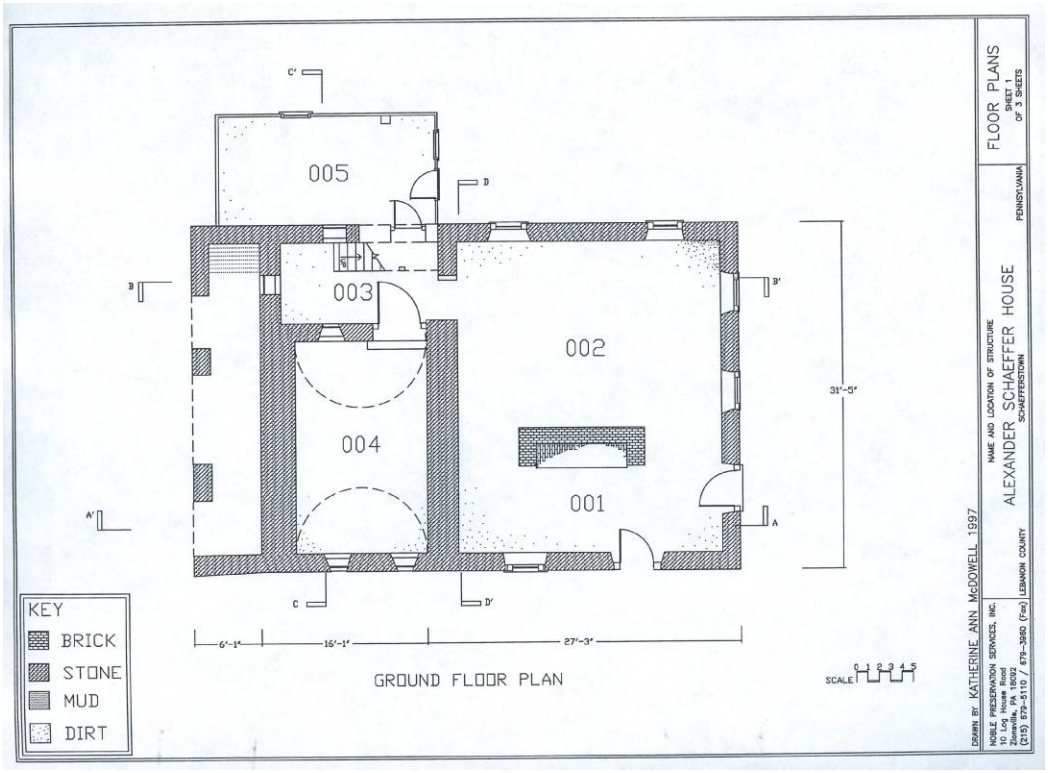
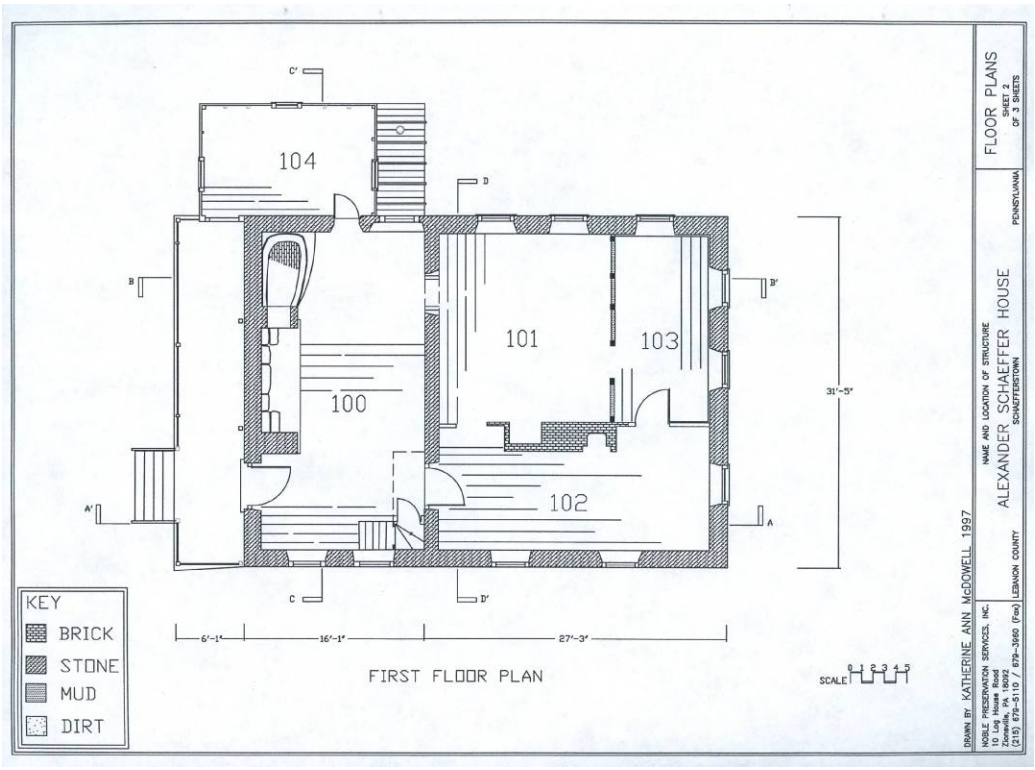
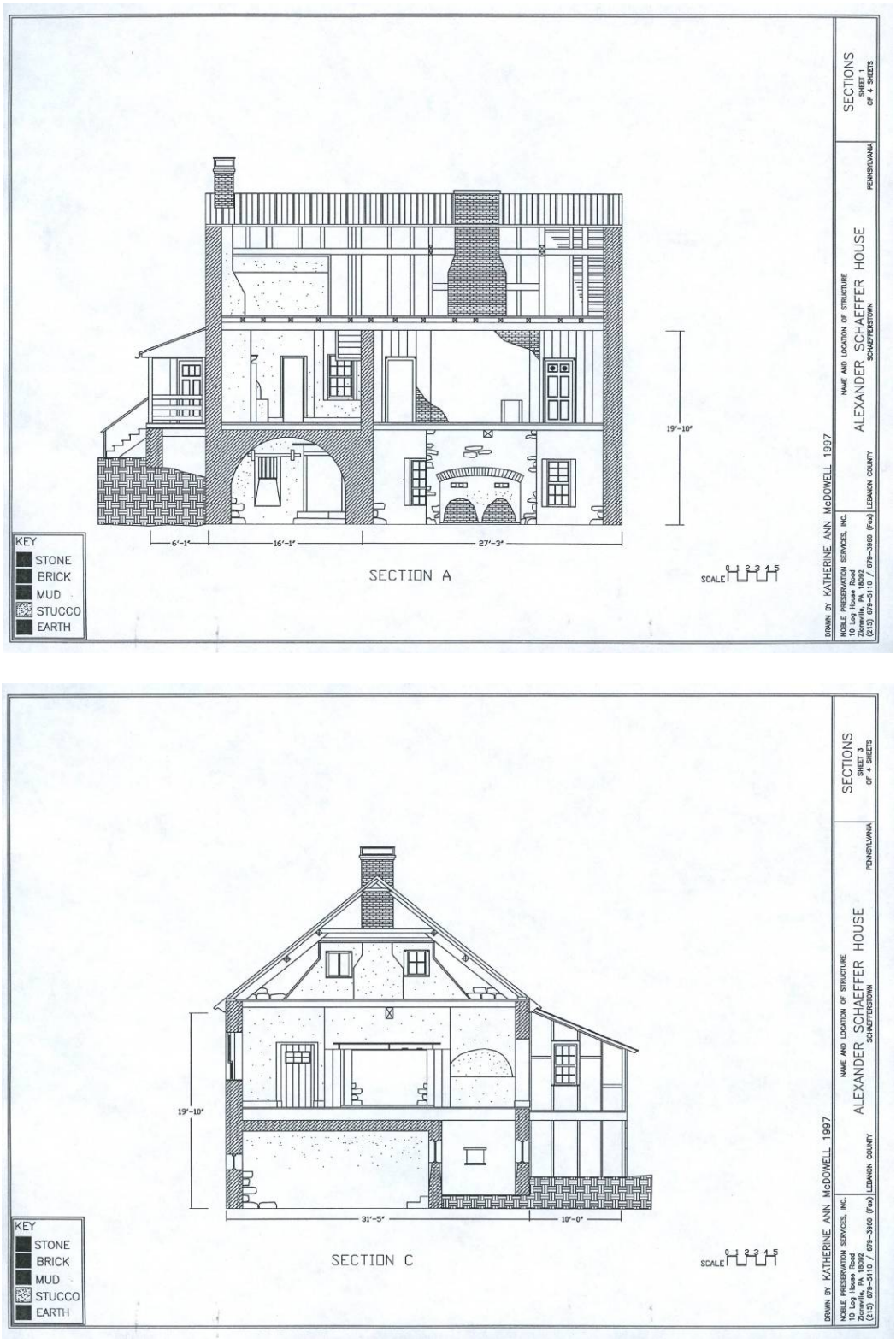


Site plan and NHL boundary, 1997
Noble Preservation Services, Inc.



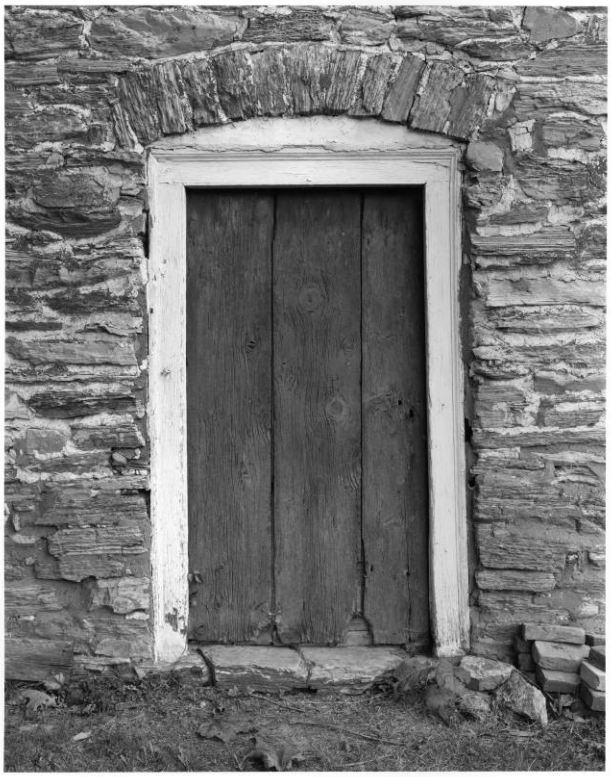


Ground- and First-floor plans, 1997
Katherine Ann McDowell, Noble Preservation Services, Inc.



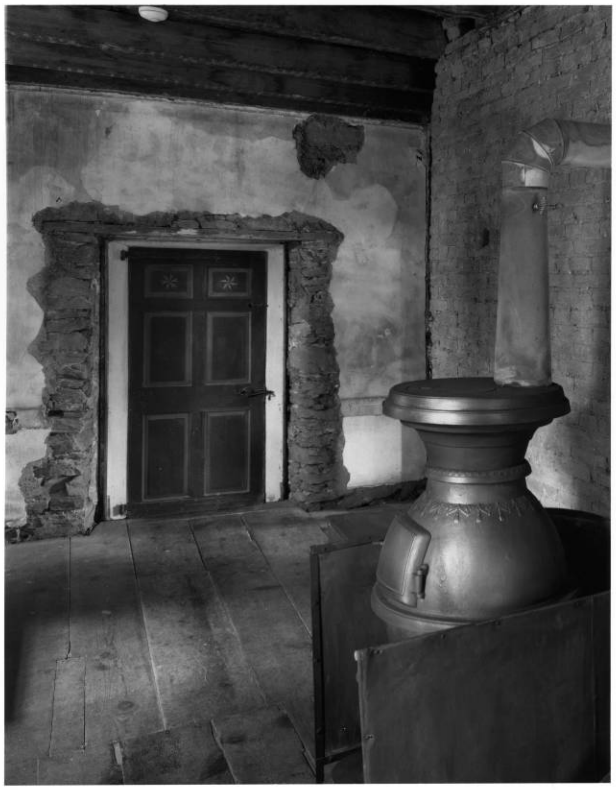
Top: longitudinal section looking east (cut "A" on plans), 1997
Bottom: transverse section looking north (cut "C" on plans), 1997
Katherine Ann McDowell, Noble Preservation Services, Inc.

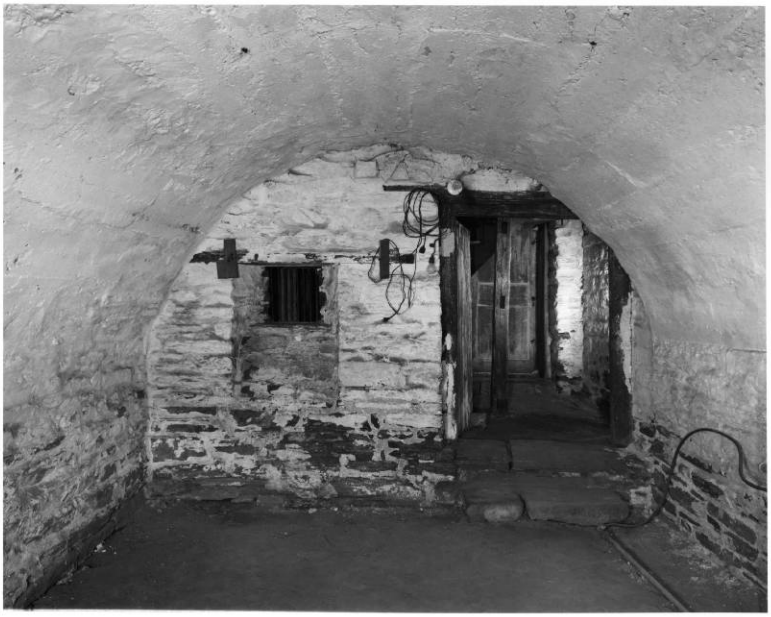
Top: general view house and grounds, looking north
Bottom: perspective view, looking northwest
Graydon Wood, photographer, Noble Preservation Services, Inc., 1997



Top: south elevation
Bottom: door detail, south elevation
Graydon Wood, photographer, Noble Preservation Services, Inc., 1997

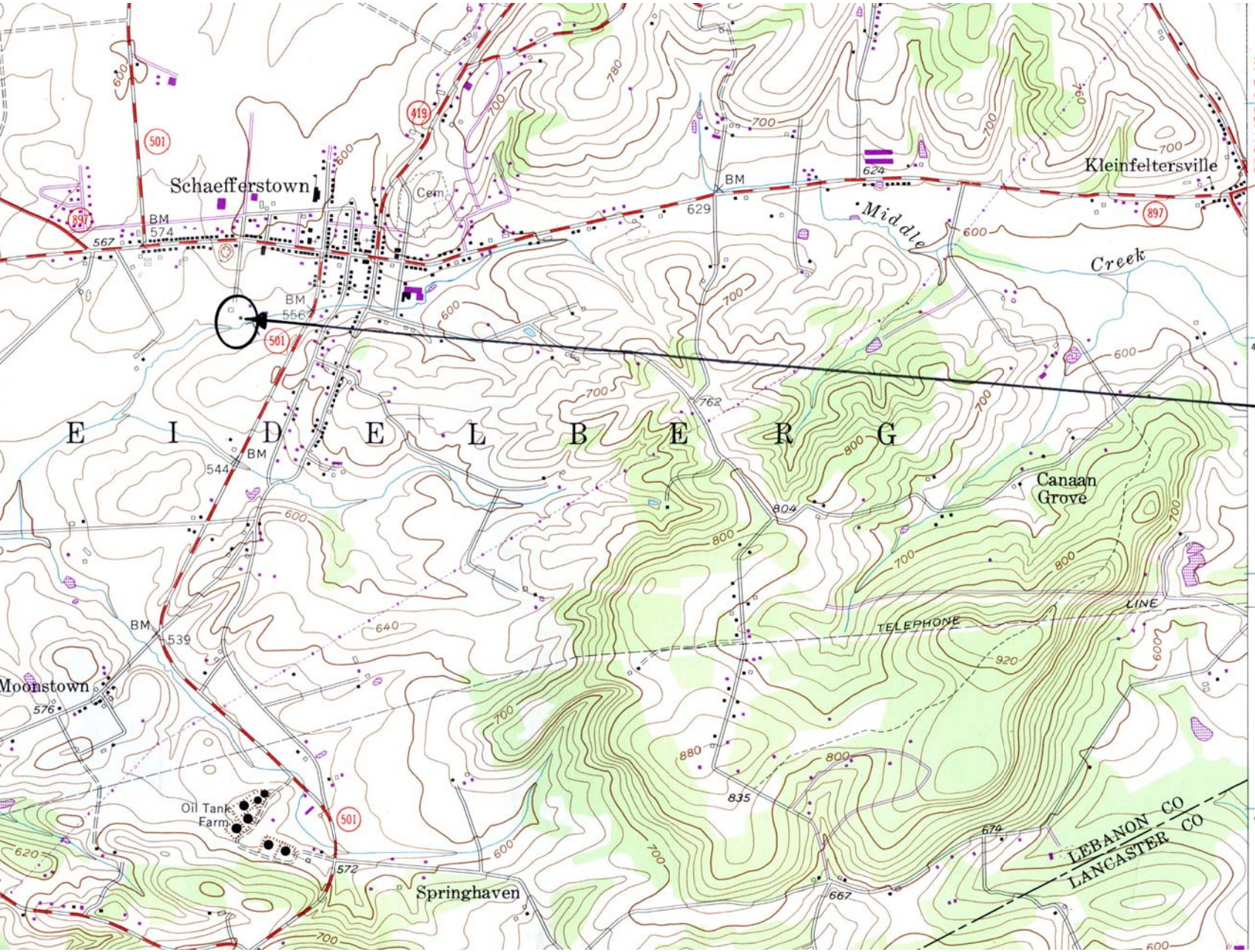
Top: beehive oven and fireplace (100 on plan)
Bottom: southeast corner of the stübe (101 on plan)
Graydon Wood, photographer, Noble Preservation Services, Inc., 1997





Top: west room looking north (102 on plan)
Bottom: barrel-vaulted cellar (004 on plan)
Graydon Wood, photographer, Noble Preservation Services, Inc., 1997

Top: back of fireplace in main cellar room (space 002 on plan)
Bottom: fireplace in main cellar room (space 001 on plan)
Graydon Wood, photographer, Noble Preservation Services, Inc., 1997



Richland Quad
Alexander Schaeffer
House
Schaefferstown,
Lebanon County,
Pennsylvania
UTM Reference:
18 393320 4461080